

CONGRESSIONAL.

SENATE PROCEEDINGS ON THE OREGON BILL.

MONDAY, MAY 29, 1848.

A message was received from the President of the United States transmitting to Congress a memorial and accompanying documents from the inhabitants of Oregon, representing that proud and powerful nation of Indians residing in that vicinity have raised the war-whoop and crimsoned their tomahawks in the blood of the settlers, and expressing the fear that many of the powerful tribes in the upper valley of the Columbia have formed an alliance for the purpose of carrying on hostilities against the settlements. The President invites the attention of Congress to the subject, and recommends the prompt establishment of a territorial government, and granting authority to raise an adequate volunteer force for the protection of the inhabitants, &c., as will be seen on a perusal of the document as contained in the proceedings of the House.

Mr. BRIGHT moved that the message and documents be referred to the Committee on the Territories, and be printed for the use of the Senate.

Mr. ATCHISON said that there was no necessity for any reference of the subject to the Committee on the Territories, as that Committee had already done what the President recommended; and the Committee on Public Lands had also reported a bill to grant donations of land and for the appointment of Indian agents; which bills were now only awaiting the action of the Senate. There was, therefore, no necessity for a reference of the subject to either of those committees, if indeed at all; but, if the Senate thought it ought to be referred, there might be some propriety in sending it to the Committee on Military Affairs so much of it is related to the raising of the additional regiment of mounted men.

The message and documents were then ordered to be printed.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 31, 1848.

Mr. BRIGHT called up the bill to establish the Territorial Government of Oregon, which was read. Mr. BENTON moved to amend it by inserting at the end a section to provide for raising a regiment of mounted volunteers, in conformity with the recommendation of the President.

Mr. B. briefly explained the object of the amendment, which was that the whole might be taken together, to wit, the Territorial Government, donations of land, and the military force. The amendment was adopted.

Mr. HALE sent an amendment to the chair, the effect of which was to make the Territory subject to all the conditions and prohibitions to which the people northwest of the river Ohio were subject under the ordinance of 1787.

Mr. H. said the bill was a very important one, and the amendment reached the most important question that should come before the Senate, the country, or the people, it was, in fact, the great question of the day, and on the solution of the problem hung the destinies of the nation. He should move, therefore, that the amendment be printed, and that the subject be postponed until Monday next.

A debate ensued and highly interesting, ensued, in which Messrs. BENTON, HANNEGAN, NILES, CALHOUN, BRIGHT, WESTCOTT, HALE, DAVIS, of Mississippi, BUTLER, BERRIEN, and others, participated. Mr. HALE withdrew his motion to postpone.

Mr. WESTCOTT then offered an amendment as a substitute for the bill, which was ordered to be printed; and the further consideration of the bill was postponed till to-morrow at one o'clock.

THURSDAY, JUNE 1, 1848.

The Senate proceeded to establish a territorial government in Oregon, the amendment pending being the following, offered by Mr. HALE:

"Sec. 1. And be it further enacted, That the inhabitants of said territory shall be entitled to enjoy all and singular the rights, privileges, and advantages granted and secured to the people of the territory of the United States northwest of the river Ohio, by the several articles of compact entered into for the purpose of the government of said territory, on the thirteenth day of July, seventeen hundred and eighty-seven; and shall be subject to all the conditions, restrictions, and prohibitions in said articles of compact contained, so far as the same may be applicable to the territory now in force in the Territory of Oregon, under the authority of the provisional government established by the people thereof, shall continue to be valid and operative, and the same shall be subject to the provisions of the principles and provisions of this act; subject, nevertheless, to be altered, modified, or repealed by the Governor and Legislative Assembly of the said Territory of Oregon; and the laws of the United States are hereby extended over, and declared to be in force in said territory, so far as the same or any provision thereof may be applicable."

There was also an amendment proposed by Mr. WESTCOTT, consisting of a substitute for the original bill, amounting to twenty-one pages, and consisting of twenty-four sections. The original bill consists of sixteen pages and nineteen sections.

A debate ensued quite as animated as that which preceded it yesterday, in which Messrs. BUTLER, BRIGHT, WESTCOTT, CALHOUN, MILLER, DICKINSON, BAGBY, HALE, FOOT, and others participated.

In the course of the debate Mr. HALE withdrew his amendment for the purpose to allow the Senate to vote on the bill. The Senate to be tested on the substitute offered by Mr. WESTCOTT. At the suggestion of Mr. BRIGHT, Mr. WESTCOTT also withdrew his amendment for the present, and Mr. B. moved to strike out the twelfth section of the bill, but no question was taken. After the bill was debated until near 4 P. M.—when the Senate adjourned.

FRIDAY, JUNE 2, 1848.

Mr. BRIGHT moved to take up the bill to establish a territorial government in Oregon, which motion was agreed to.

Mr. B. alluded to the fact that he had moved to strike out the 12th section with a view to avoid debate and delay; but having been disappointed he should now withdraw the motion and insist on the immediate passage of the bill. [Here there were cries of "question! question!"]

Mr. BERRIEN did not desire to produce discussion on the bill, and wished to avoid all further debate. He felt compelled to renew the motion to strike out the 12th section, and without saying a word in favor of the proposition he should content himself with demanding the yeas and nays on the motion, which were ordered.

A very protracted discussion ensued, in which Messrs. WESTCOTT, TURNER, BADGER, RUSK, BUTLER, NILES, DOWNS, HANNEGAN, and others participated. Mr. HOUSTON moved to amend the 12th section by inserting after the word "act," in the eighth line, the following: "or in violation of any rights by the laws or constitution of the United States vested in or secured to the citizens of the United States, or any of them."

The amendment having been agreed to in Committee of the Whole, the 12th section was read as follows:

"Sec. 12. And be it further enacted, That the inhabitants of said Territory shall be entitled to all the rights, privileges, and immunities heretofore granted and secured to the Territory of Iowa and to its inhabitants; and the existing laws now in force in the Territory of Oregon, under the authority of the provisional government established by the people thereof, shall continue to be valid and operative thereto, so far as the same be not incompatible with the provisions of this act, or in violation of any rights by the laws or constitution of the United States vested in or secured to the citizens of the United States, or any of them; subject, nevertheless, to be altered, modified, or repealed by the Governor and Legislative Assembly of the said Territory of Oregon; and the laws of the United States are hereby extended over, and declared to be in force in said territory, so far as the same or any provision thereof may be applicable."

The question then recurred on striking out the 12th section, when a further debate ensued, which lasted until after 4 P. M., in which Messrs. CALHOUN, HOUSTON, HANNEGAN, BERRIEN, BRIGHT, and others participated. Mr. UPHAM moved to amend the bill by striking out the 12th section, and inserting the following:

Mr. BRIGHT demanded the yeas and nays, which were ordered, when the vote stood for adjournment—Yeas 14, nays 29, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Badger, Baldwin, Bell, Berrien, Butler, Calhoun, Clarke, Davis, of Massachusetts, Dayton, Mangum, Miller, Niles, Spruance, and Upham—14.
NAYS—Messrs. Allen, Atchison, Atherton, Bagby, Benton, Borland, Bradley, Breese, Bright, Crittenden, Davis, of Mississippi, Dickinson, Dix, Downs, Felch, Foote, Hale, Hannegan, Houston, Hunter, Johnson, of Ga., Lewis, Moore, Rusk, Sebastian, Sturgeon, Turney, Underwood, Westcott, and Yates—29.

Mr. HANNEGAN desired to go into Executive session for a few minutes on a matter of much importance.

Mr. BRIGHT asked the yeas and nays.

Mr. HANNEGAN spoke of the importance of acting on the bill without delay, and avowed his readiness to sit there until Monday morning if he could effect it; but, in fact, he was desirous to go into Executive session on a matter which the Senate found to be pressing.

The CHAIR having intimated that the motion would not be in order while the bill was pending—

Mr. WESTCOTT moved that it be passed over informally, with a view to go into Executive session.

On this question Mr. BRIGHT again demanded the yeas and nays, which were ordered; when the vote stood for passing over informally—Yeas 26, nays 17, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Atchison, Badger, Baldwin, Bell, Berrien, Butler, Calhoun, Clarke, Crittenden, Davis, of Massachusetts, Davis, of Mississippi, Dayton, Downs, Felch, Foote, Georgia, Lewis, Mangum, Miller, Niles, Sebastian, Spruance, Turney, Underwood, Upham, Westcott, and Yates—26.
NAYS—Messrs. Allen, Atherton, Bagby, Benton, Borland, Bradley, Breese, Bright, Crittenden, Hale, Hannegan, Houston, Moore, Rusk, and Sturgeon—17.

On motion of Mr. HANNEGAN, the Senate adjourned to the consideration of Executive business, and after some time spent therein, adjourned.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

FRIDAY, JUNE 2, 1848.

Mr. EDWARDS, from the select committee appointed to consider the various memorials praying the passage of a law prohibiting the importation of adulterated drugs and medicines,

reported a bill to prohibit the importation of adulterated, deteriorated, and misnamed medicines.

Mr. EDWARDS begged leave to state that the bill which he had just reported had met with the entire approbation of the select committee to whom the subject had been referred. It was a subject of great importance to the entire country. He had recently received a letter informing him that twenty-four thousand pounds of adulterated Peruvian bark alone had just been imported; and as this subject had been first referred to the Committee on Commerce, and afterwards to a select committee, those who were engaged in this trade had become wide awake, and were importing largely in anticipation of the passage of some such bill as this. It was therefore obviously necessary that this bill should be promptly passed, the such deleterious importations might be caught on their arrival in our ports. He moved that the bill be put upon its passage.

Mr. HUNT hoped there would be no objection to the immediate passage of this bill. It was of vital importance to the country. The importation of deleterious drugs had been very injurious to our army during the war with Mexico, and hence some action on this subject was loudly demanded. When it was before the Committee on Commerce there was but one opinion respecting it, but it was deemed better that it should be referred to a select committee of medical men, who would perhaps be better able to suggest amendments to protect the country against the mischief, which it was exposed by deleterious importations. He hoped it would be passed without debate; but, if any discussion were necessary to satisfy the House of the propriety of passing this bill, he would suggest that the able report of the committee should be read. Nothing more would be necessary. In conclusion, he moved the previous question.

The House sustained the call for the previous question, under the operation of which the bill was passed.

On motion of Mr. VINTON, the bill and report were ordered to be printed.

Mr. ASHMUN moved that 10,000 extra copies of the report accompanying the bill be printed.

After a few words between Messrs. COBB, of Georgia, BENTON, and ASHMUN, this motion was referred to the Committee on Printing.

PRIVATE BILLS.

The House resolved itself into Committee of the Whole on the private calendar.

The following bills were taken up, read, considered, and ordered to be reported to the House, viz:

For the relief of Peter Shaffer.
For the relief of John Oza.
For the relief of the legal representatives of Robert Folton, deceased.

For the relief of Anna Giffin, of the county of Wyoming, State of New York.
For the relief of William Butler.
For the relief of William De Buys, late postmaster at New Orleans.

For the relief of Artemus Conant.
Granting a pension to Ruth Hollenbeck.
For the relief of Jesse Washington Jackson.

For the relief of James Pogue.
For the relief of Samuel Gray.
For the relief of Lizur B. Canfield.
For the relief of John Hibbert.

For the relief of Daniel H. Warren.
For the relief of Nathaniel Shiffet.
For the relief of Skolton Felton.
For the relief of Emanuel Berri and John M. Keene.

And Senate bills for the relief of Richard Bloss and others; for the relief of James & Baker; and for the relief of Chas. L. Dell.

The following bills were amended and ordered to be reported to the House, viz:

Joint resolution of the Senate in favor of David Shaw and Solomon Tor Corser, and House bill for the relief of Lewis Hastings.

The following bills were also acted on and ordered to be reported to the House: Bills authorizing the Secretary of War to issue a duplicate of land warrant number 1,469, which originally issued in favor of Adam Hart, February 3, 1829, and for the relief of Thomas B. Graham, and Senate bill for the relief of Fernando Felany.

The committee having reported all of the above bills—The House first proceeded to consider the bill for the relief of John P. Converse, reported to the House by the Committee of the Whole on Saturday last; when—

On motion of Mr. BY, of Maryland, it was recommended to the Committee of Claims.

Bills from the Senate for the relief of Joseph Wilson, and for the relief of W. B. Slaughter, late Secretary of the Territory of Wisconsin, reported from the Committee of the Whole on Saturday last, (the latter with an amendment, which was agreed to), were taken up, read a third time, and passed.

The bill for the relief of William Fuller and Orlando Salmars, and for the relief of H. D. Johnson, which were reported by the Committee of the Whole on Saturday last, were taken up and ordered to be engrossed; and, being engrossed, were read a third time, passed, and sent to the Senate for concurrence.

The House then proceeded to consider the bills this day reported from the Committee of the Whole, when they were reported a third time and passed, except the bills for the relief of Peter Shaffer and for the relief of Wm. De Buys, late postmaster at New Orleans, which were laid over for further consideration.

INTERNATIONAL EXCHANGES.

Mr. MURPHY asked the unanimous consent of the House to offer a resolution in relation to Mr. Vattene's plan of international exchange of foreign publications.

Mr. Vattene had been here for three months, and was still remaining in the city, and respecting the result of his application to this Government. He hoped there would, therefore, be no objection to the resolution which he desired to offer:

Resolved, That the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union be discharged from the further consideration of House bill No. 469, to regulate the exchange of certain documents and other publications of Congress.

The resolution having been agreed to, the House proceeded to consider said bill, which was read, as follows:

A BILL to regulate the exchange of certain documents and other publications of Congress.

Be it enacted, &c. That the Joint Committee on the Library shall appoint such agents as they may from time to time deem requisite, to carry into effect the donation and exchange of such documents and other publications as have been or shall be placed at their disposal for the purpose.

Sec. 2. And be it further enacted, That all books transmitted through such agents for the use of the Government of the United States, or of any Government of a State, or of its Legislature, or of any department of the Government of the United States, or of the Academy at West Point, or of the National Institute, shall be admitted into the United States free of duty.

Sec. 3. And be it further enacted, That the sum of 20,000 dollars is hereby appropriated out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, and the same is put at the disposal of the Library Committee, for the purpose of carrying into effect such donation and exchange, and of paying the expenses already incurred in relation thereto.

Mr. JONES, of Tennessee, moved to recommit the bill to the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union.

Mr. MURPHY urged Mr. JONES to withdraw his motion and let the bill pass. Mr. Vattene had been here three or four months at considerable expense, and it was the wish of the Committee on the Library to defray his expenses, and there was no way by which the committee could do so unless the bill passed.

Mr. McKAY said the bill required consideration in committee, and he hoped the motion of the gentleman from Tennessee would prevail.

Mr. FARAN rose to a question of order. A rule of the House required that all money bills or bills appropriating money, be first considered in Committee on the Whole on the state of the Union, and he desired to know if it was not the duty of the Chair to put them there?

The SPEAKER stated that the Committee of the Whole had been discharged from the consideration of the bill.

The question was put on recommitting the bill, and no question voted.

The House then adjourned.

THE OREGON MASSACRE.—The cause of the massacre of the American Missionary, Dr. Whitman, and his family is thus given in a letter from Fort Vancouver:

"Our lamented friend, Dr. Whitman, his amiable and accomplished lady, with nine other persons, have fallen victims to the bloodthirsty and remorseless savages, who appear to have been instigated to this appalling crime by a horrible suspicion which had taken possession of their superstitious minds, in consequence of the number of deaths from dysentery and measles, that Dr. Whitman was silently working the destruction of their tribe by administering poisonous drugs under the semblance of salutary medicines."

The following is a complete list of the persons killed on this occasion:

Dr. Whitman, Mrs. Whitman, Mr. Rogers, Mr. Hoffman, Mr. Sanders, (schoolmaster), Mr. Marsh, John Sager and Francis Sager, (youths), Mr. Kimball, Mr. Gellen, Mr. Bewley, Mr. Young, Jr., Mr. Sales, Mr. Hall, (supposed to have been killed at John Day's river).

Mr. ODESS, of the Hudson Bay Company, immediately after the massacre, succeeded in gathering a council of the chiefs, to whom he made a speech, in which he depicted the enormity of their crime, told them of the certainty of the punishment which awaited them should the Americans go to war with them, and counselled them to give up their prisoners.

The chiefs replied; and then it was agreed that they should deliver up the captives within six days on the promise of a ransom being paid for them. Speeches were also made in the intermediate time to the Nez Percés, and they agreed to deliver up Mr. Spalding and his family.

WASHINGTON.

"Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable."

SATURDAY, JUNE 3, 1848.

THE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM.

In our Daily issue of yesterday, and in the Country paper of this day, we have laid before our readers the conclusion of the Proceedings of the Baltimore Convention, embracing, in the form of a Report, a series of political axioms and propositions, elaborately and cautiously prepared, with an intent to operate upon the public mind in favor of its objects; which Report received the unanimous approbation of the Convention.

The Resolutions thus sanctioned claim more attention than those of the last Convention of that character, not only because we have seen what use is likely to be made of them, but because in the present case the Resolutions were reported and discussed and adopted in the face of day, and in full assembly, and not, as in the Convention of 1844, after a majority of the Members of the Convention, ignorant of the design, had departed for their homes. This Manifesto is entitled to such consideration as is due to the deliberate expression, by the Representatives of one of the two great political parties of our country, of those sentiments it really entertains, and of those others which, with a view to success, the party deems it politic to profess.

Had the Convention confined itself to the enunciation of abstract propositions, some of them mere truisms, and some others of them such as are common, professedly at least, to both parties, we should probably not have troubled our readers with any remarks of ours upon them. But, when application of these principles is made to past events, and particularly to the Administration of this Government during the last three years of Democratic rule; when the course of that Administration is, without exception, stamped with their approbation; when a solemn pledge is thus given that the Administration of the next President (should the Democratic candidate succeed) shall be a true copy of so admirable a pattern; and when *assent to all this* is confidently claimed on the ground of the trust placed by the authors of this Manifesto in the intelligence, the patriotism, and the discriminating justice of the AMERICAN PEOPLE, we cannot, consistently with our opinion as part of that People, or with our duty in the station which we occupy, allow this Appeal to go forth to the world without a thorough examination of its contents.

We proceed therefore to—

A REVIEW OF THE "PLATFORM."

As much more solid as substance is than shadow; as much better as fine gold is than a failing bank's "promises to pay;" so much are the public actions and conduct of a party, that has for years held in a country almost constant sway, a test of its character and purposes superior to all that it has found it profitable to promise or convenient to profess as its "principles." These last may be erroneous or impossible, or, indeed, only intended to amuse and deceive; but its actions cannot lie; its deliberate measures must be a reality; its practical administration must offer a true interpretation of what it means, of what it is. As, however, it is with the failing banks—which, the more their paper money is discredited and sunk in value, are forced to issue the more of it—so it is now with those deceivers and managers who delude and rule the people by calling themselves DEMOCRATS: the more they have misgoverned the country, and made havoc in the constitution and laws, the more do they enrich us with their professions and instruct us with their doctrines. Certainly they have shortened the Commandments to almost nothing; but they are stretching the Creed into a most copious one. Like that righteous sect of old, the Pharisees, they lay heavy burdens on other men's shoulders, but lighten themselves with not so much as a little finger: they bid others do good, but do not as they say; they make long prayers, while they are devouring widows' houses; they compass sea and land to make one proselyte, and, when made, he is wickeder than before; most religiously do they pay tithes of mint, and anise, and cumin, omitting only the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy, and faith: excellent are they to strain at a constitutional gnat, like a road or a canal in the United States, while they swallow with ease the camel of a cut through the foreign isthmus of Tehuantepec: a survey for a harbor on our own Lakes they cannot stomach; but they have no qualms about dispatching an expedition to survey the shore of the Dead Sea. Very nice people are they about externals; and, in a word, for a Constitution that is to be laid up in a sepulchre, all rottenness and dead men's bones within, all whitewashed without, we can imagine no tomb more pharisaical than that which the late Undertakers' company, styling itself the "Democratic National Nominating Convention," have left behind them at Baltimore, under title of the "Platform of the Campaign."

The first sentences of this Manifesto to the Democracy are as follows:

"Resolved, That the American Democracy place their trust in the intelligence, the patriotism, and the discriminating justice of the American people."

"Resolved, That we regard this as a distinctive feature of our political creed, which we are proud to maintain before the world as the great moral element in a form of government springing from and upheld by the popular will; and we contrast it with the creed and practice of Federalism, under whatever name or form, which seeks to play the will of the constituent, and which conceals no imposture too monstrous for the popular credulity."

They "put their trust in the People's intelligence," do they? Good men "put their trust" humbly in God alone, and rest not on the weakness of any human dependence: the wise "put not their trust in Princes." Now, what manner of men are these, who, with impious and slavish adulation, bring a reverence to the People which is only God's, and which Monarchs themselves, if sober, would disown? Why, what are they but men who, instead of having that trust in "the People's intelligence" which they profess, really confide in the very opposite, and expect to blind the People to all their own party-offences against liberty and the country, to facts the openest and the worst, merely by thus affecting an infinite admiration for the popular judgment? Suppose it were given against them, no matter how decisively, to-morrow: what would they say? Why, just what they said in 1840, when the popular displeasure overwhelmed them: they would say, as then, that "the people were deluded," that "the people were drunk;"

yea, "deluded" by "coon-skins and log-cabins," "drunk" with hard cider, the vilest of Christian drinks! None readier than these very sycophants of the People to vilify, as soon as they can no longer deceive them: none prompter or more insolent than these very demagogues, when foiled of their arts by the popular sense really exerted, to blaspheme the People, whenever it refuses to let them be its priests and speak its oracles.

The next member of their "platform" boasts of their respect for "the popular will." Let us see. Did they respect it in 1840, when they cried out that the people had been "corrupted," that the people were "drunk?" Do they respect it any where, except just where they have a majority? Let the people any where vote against them, and they are at once, if rich, stigmatized as "aristocrats;" if poor, as "drunken." Is there no "people" in Vermont or New England, or New Jersey or Maryland, or North Carolina or Kentucky or Ohio? Will there be none in New York, when it shall, next November, vote against them? Do freemen lose their respectability when they cannot consent to support for the Presidency Mr. POLK, who made the Mexican war, or Gen. CASS, who, besides being a forward advocate of all that, wanted a fifty-four forty war? Do freemen lose their rights when they cannot approve all the measures, no matter how illegal or foolish, of those in power? If that be so, then how is this Government not a despotism? We (poor "Federalists," as the friends of Mr. BUCHANAN, of Judge TANEY, of Gov. WALL, of MARCUS MORTON, and so many other excellent "Republicans" style us) had really thought that the "will of the people" was worthy of a freeman's respect, because they whose collective vote decided that "will" were all, singly, free citizens, independent, equal, sovereign, just as much each in himself as all together. In our simplicity, we did not know that they had no free voice in those public matters which are said to belong to them; we were ignorant that they must, under penalty of being treated as political outcasts, vote as the Managers of a so-called "Democratic Party" see good to order. We were not aware that, in this boasted commonwealth, a party held together, as openly declared in the Senate by an eminent man who has reason to know them, "by the cohesive power of public plunder;" the party (as another high authority has more succinctly and frankly expressed it) of the "spoils," has only to put on the empty name of "Democracy," and placard its adversaries as "Federalists," in order to take a right the fullest and most entire to abolish the citizenship, the equality, the public franchises, and the good name itself of all who are unable to think as commanded. This exclusion is effected in various ways, some of which we had briefly sketched for insertion here, but want of space excludes them. That which is most notorious, however, is the ruthless proscription under which all who will not take the name of "Democrat," be they never so devoted to the Republic, to its institutions, its glory, and its welfare: be they never so otherwise meritorious or qualified, are, under all the pretended forms of freedom, stricken from the privilege of holding any national office or employment, just as much as the Jews and the Catholic Irish were once incapacitated to hold seats in Parliament, by laws long the shame of the British statute-books, but now abolished there.

But the Whigs, it is intimated in this same candid "Platform," do not profess an equal submissiveness to the popular will. Well, perhaps it is so. But the Whigs, it seems to us, make quite as loud professions of blind submission to "the people's will;" of prostrate admiration for "the people's intelligence, honesty, and patriotism;" as men can do who respect either themselves or the people. Flatterers, cozeners, and slaves, not the sincere and manly, ever abound in this sort of wheedling. It should excite suspicion, not confidence. The "People" are but men, and quite fallible, like the rest of mankind. Except to the base, who worship the power of the People, and who would equally worship that power were it a King's, the People are not Deities, to be adored; and, if they were, would not, it is to be hoped, be such shallow ones as to measure the sincerity of their adorers by the noisiness of their prayers or the quantity of empty incense which they burnt upon their shrines. A scotch King takes his greatest flatterers for his truest friends; but a wise sovereign knows his worst and his most worthy subjects; those by their being constantly courting him on their knees, these by their standing erect, serving him, and telling him of his errors, not his vain perfections of majesty or might, or all-knowingness. If kings may be cajoled, so can the sovereign people. The true power of either suffers, and is even subject to be lost, by nothing so much as by their listening rather to their own passions and pride, and to the servile and selfish who play upon them, than to the sincere voice of those who love them. Demagogues are but the same fatal flatterers of the sovereign people who would, were that people a monarch, be his supplest, most cringing courtiers. Wo to either King or Commonwealth that, won by their obsequiousness, yields the sceptre to their hands! A tyranny ensues, an abuse of all the public powers, for the same bad ends of the sycophants, the flatterers, the favorites, who, by dint of humoring and deceiving, have mastered their master. And, as such a surrender of their authority to mere minions conducts kings to the loss of their crowns, to revolution and downfall, like that which has of late lighted upon European princes, so does it lead a duped people on to a regular despotism, the forcible and permanent establishment of an irresponsible power, founded originally on compliance with all their fancies, but soon to scorn and trample on their soberest will and dearest happiness. This is not quite yet a fixed condition of things amongst us; but, if usurpations and misgovernment as wide and as arbitrary as those which Mr. POLK has pursued without interruption during his reign can be *applauded* by the great political and doctrinal Party Convention of those who have so long misruled us, and can thus be held out to the country, in effect, as the *formal promises of their nominee*, it is surely time for the People, aroused and undeceived, to fling off their domination, and reassert, before it be too late, their fast-perishing freedom.

The next resolution of the "Platform" speaks of the Convention itself, the builders of the "platform" aforesaid; taking occasion, among other notable things, to extol "the spirit of concord" which brooded, dove-like, over their fabrication, this monument of their principles. Very harmonious were their labors, perhaps; or, at least, they may have appeared so to themselves: but Fame, sitting there

among them as reporter-general for the Press, tells a very different story; and mere spectators of the work say that the democratic builders were probably just about as harmonious as those of Babel.

DEMOCRATIC NOTIONS OF "STRICT CONSTRUCTION" OF THE CONSTITUTION.

The first distinct proposition of the Convention is as follows:

"That the Federal Government is one of limited powers, derived solely from the Constitution; and the grants of power shown therein ought to be strictly construed by all the Departments and agents of the Government; and that it is inexpedient and dangerous to exercise doubtful constitutional powers."

This principle is in so direct opposition to the whole course and tenor of the conduct of the Democratic party when they have had the Government in their hands, that its ostentatious announcement at this moment, as the fundamental principle of the politics of that party, is a mere mockery and contempt of the intelligence of the people to whom it is addressed.

To comprehend the full extent of the difference between the profession and the practice of the Democratic party, we must read, in connexion with this proposition, the following, from a subsequent part of the address:

"That the fruits of the great political triumph in 1844, which elected JAMES K. POLK and GEO. M. DALLAS President and Vice President of the United States, have fulfilled the hopes of the Democracy of the Union, &c.; and that, in our opinion, it would be a fatal error to weaken the bands of political organization by which THESE GREAT REFORMS have been achieved, and risk them in the hands of their known adversaries, with whatever delusive appeals they may solicit our surrender of that vigilance which is the only 'safeguard of liberty.'"

The "fruits" of the election of Mr. POLK to the Presidency, and the "great reforms achieved" under his Administration, have been such as to make of this fundamental proposition of the Baltimore Convention a piece of irony against its own party as keen as human wit could have well devised. For, accidental possession of power by that party for the last six or seven years has been signalized not only by an almost unbroken series of Executive acts of doubtful constitutionality, but by the assumption of powers denied to the Executive by having been expressly conferred upon other co-ordinate branches of the Government. And in this course of unconstitutional action the Executive has been sustained throughout by strict party votes in the legislative bodies, whereby the whole party has become responsible for whatever the Executive has done or omitted. In the most flagrant of his acts—his undertaking of his own mere will to make war upon Mexico—the Party in Congress sustained the President by an act of indemnity; and in other acts of more doubtful morality even than unconstitutionality—such as his clandestine convention with the exiled President of the Mexican republic, the object of which was to place him at the head of the Mexican forces destined to act against our own gallant armies, &c.—the same party has continually screened the Executive by its repeated refusals to inquire into either the facts or the motives of his transactions.

But, by way of improving the present opportunity, not inviting to be neglected, it is worth while to examine a little more closely what are the "fruits" which have been gathered, and what the "great reforms" achieved by the political organization which it is the object of the Baltimore Convention to prevent from falling into hands in which the continuance of such blessings may be endangered.

To begin, then, with the beginning:

As though in haste decisively to mark his fealty to the blind dictum and decree of that irresponsible Party Convention which had nominated him—a body huddled together in personal intrigues, and settling, by a few in a corner, when half had dispersed, the gravest questions of right and policy—as if at once to proclaim, with his first official breath, that he intended, during his term or terms